

# Socialist Meeting In L. A. Hears Hallinan, Cannon

By DELLA ROSSA

LOS ANGELES, March 1 — The large forum hall of the Socialist Workers Party was packed to capacity tonight as supporters of various socialist tendencies gathered

together for a banquet and public meeting which heard Vincent Hallinan, the 1952 Progressive Party Presidential candidate, and James P. Cannon, national chairman of the SWP. The subject of the evening was "United Socialist Political Action in 1952 and the Outlook for American Socialists." William F. Warde, chairman of the Los Angeles SWP, presided.

Hallinan, who was introduced by Warde as one of the most able critics of American capitalism, told the gathering that "there is a large segment of people in the United States committed to [socialist] principles and... at least a somewhat larger segment that will give a tolerant ear to the arguments in favor of public ownership."

While the decline of capitalism is becoming ever more apparent, he continued, "a new order is sweeping the world and its superiority to the old order is attested whether you consider its scientific achievements, its military successes, the rising standard of living of its people, its cultural advancement, or even its athletic prowess."

## WHAT AMERICA NEEDS

If America is to progress Hallinan declared, "first we must have a planned, socialist economy; second, we must get rid of war and militarism; and, third, we must assure political, social and economic equality to every person regardless of race, color or any other artificial barrier."

Posing the question of whether either of the capitalist par-

ties could realize such a program, Hallinan said, "Merely asking the question answers it. Of course they will not."

"The one thing we will have to do to bring the American people to an alteration of these structures that will lead this nation to higher standards... is to educate them in the truths, the achievements, and the possibilities of socialism. We have to tell them what socialism has done, and we have to point out all its promises and possibilities," Hallinan said.

Citing advances made by the Soviet Union, Hallinan criticized socialist tendencies in the U. S. for not publicizing these accomplishments and for devoting their energies to criticism of the political rulers in the Soviet orbit.

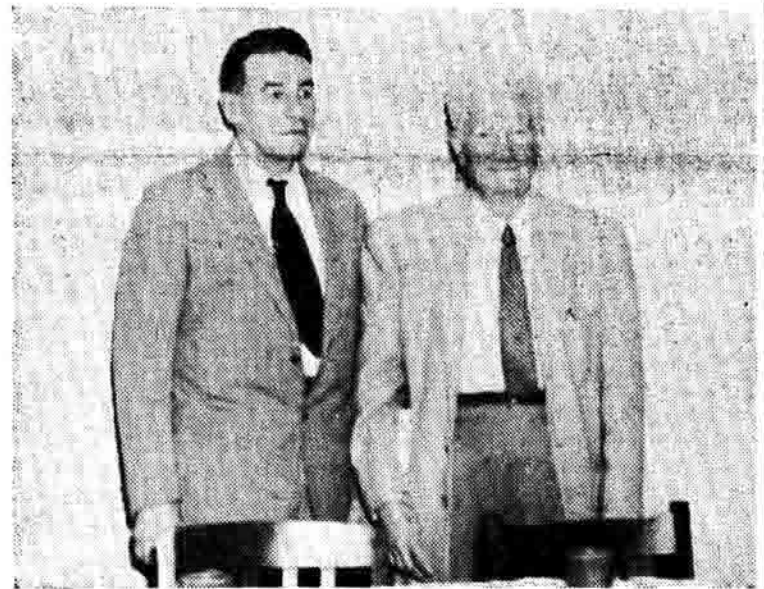
James P. Cannon, a veteran of fifty years in the struggle for socialism, told the meeting that American socialists have the task today of working out common action and at the same time establishing a clear picture of what lies in the future for the socialist movement.

Commenting on the view that the American socialist movement today is "at rock bottom," he recalled another comment on this situation. "The only place we can go is up."

## IN BAD SHAPE

"The position of American socialism is not good," Cannon said, "but what about American capitalism?" The general consensus of opinion, he continued, was that it is in "a hell of a fix" and that nobody had any

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Vincent Hallinan (left) and James P. Cannon as they shared platform at Los Angeles Dinner-Meeting organized to promote united socialist electoral action.

## The Late Mr. Truman

"A certain amount of unemployment, say from three to five million, is supportable. It is a good thing that job seeking should go on at all times; this is healthy for the economic body."

This statement truly reflects the cold and callous views of Big Business. We have heard similar statements from bankers and reactionary businessmen and politicians seeking to whitewash or minimize the present Republican recession or depression.

The words we quoted above, however, do not come from any of these sources. They are the words of the late Mr. Harry Truman, as President of the United States at a time when there were at least eight million workers unemployed or working less than 22 hours a week.

Truman's opinion that five million unemployed are "supportable" appeared eight years ago in his exclusive interview with Arthur Krock, published in the Feb. 15, 1950, New York Times.

## DIFFERENT MAN

We are reminded of the late Mr. Truman's views by the present Mr. Truman's opinions. He is a different fellow than the man who was President and trying to explain how his administration was drifting into a sizeable slump.

In an exclusive article in the same New York Times that quoted him in 1950 to the effect that a certain amount of unemployment is a "healthy" thing, Truman now complains: "There are those who have been saying that a little recession is a good thing for the health of our economy. . . . This kind of thinking is like believing a little bit of war might be beneficial."

Now, we don't like to be

carping critics or hold against Mr. Truman the hasty actions of his other life, but it is a matter of historical record that his own depression, which reached a peak of over five million fully unemployed, was not resolved by any ordinary measures.

In fact, it was prevented from growing into a full-fledged crisis of the 1930's variety, precisely by his own "little bit of war." He called it a "police action" — his single-handed plunging of the United States into the Korean civil war on June 25, 1950, a most convenient date from the standpoint of the Truman recession.

## HITS GOP

Just last week, at a \$100-a-plate Washington's Birthday dinner for the benefit of the Democratic Party, the present Mr. Truman elaborated his current views. He bemoaned the attitude of the present administration confronted with more than 4½ million officially-admitted unemployed. He belabored a Republican spokesman who spoke of the "right to suffer" as a prerogative of the jobless.

Brutal? Heartless? Cold-blooded? Of course. And the very views that Truman himself held when he was President under circumstances similar to now.

In this same speech, Truman further complained that anyone who mentions the present economic situation is called a "prophet of gloom and doom, who is betting on depression." Here again, the present Mr. Truman is attributing to his

political opponents the sentiments of his own friends when the late Mr. Truman held office.

For back in June 1949, as unemployment was nearing the four-million mark, Truman told a press conference there was no "crisis." The day before, the then United Automobile President Walter Reuther had said that Truman was planning "realistic and effective" action to "vigorously" meet the "economic crisis" that Truman said did not exist and that anyway those who were expressing concern were nothing less than "prophets of gloom and doom."

Well, everything the Democrats say about the Republicans now is pretty much the truth.

## 150,000 CASUALTIES

Truman was indeed "vigorously" pressing a "realistic and effective" anti-depression program. But it was not one that made the American people happy. This was the war program that exploded upon the nation in June 1950 and cost the American people the 150,000 casualties of the Korean War.

When Truman says the Republicans are leading us into an economic crisis and have no effective program to meet it, he is telling the truth. But he lies — and his supporters among the union leaders also lie — when he claims to have anything better to offer.

We don't have to guess about this. We need only roll the film of history back a mere five years to the days of the late President Truman.

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## Need Offensive by Labor To Secure Jobs for All

### Million Exhaust Benefits

When a wage earner loses his job how much can he expect from unemployment compensation to tide him over? A survey of the 48 states reveals that he will receive little from this "built-in-stabilizer" of the economy.

Only two-thirds of the jobless are eligible for any unemployment compensation at all. One-third are disqualified because of insufficient earnings, having jobs not covered by the system, or for other reasons. They must depend on welfare departments and state relief. Their number is being swelled by almost one million whose compensation has already run out.

MANY BELOW MAXIMUM  
For those fortunate enough to qualify for maximum unemployment benefits, payments range from \$26 a week for 20 weeks in Alabama to \$42 for 26 weeks in Michigan. Less than half of those on compensation receive the maximum in any state. A New York worker would have to earn \$90 a week for 20 weeks to get the maximum of \$36.

Average weekly payments to unemployed workers range from \$19.80 in Arkansas to \$38.17 in Nevada according to a survey in the U. S. News and World Report. Michigan payments average \$35.29, New York \$31.71, and California \$32.13. With the addition of Supplemental Unemployment Benefit payments Michigan's auto workers can bring their jobless pay up to \$58.

The auto companies are trying to go back on their obligations under SUB by scheduling short work weeks. By putting workers on a three or even two-day week, the auto companies save on SUB while reducing the workers' take-home

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### Compensation Line in Michigan



The Detroit area was one of the first in the country to be hit with wide-spread layoffs. Unemployment has been chronic in the auto center for over a year. This scene at a Detroit Unemployment Compensation office was typical even prior to the present heavy unemployment.

## Ford 600 to Organize Its Jobless Members

United Auto Workers Local 600 has taken steps to organize its unemployed members. The local has jurisdiction over the giant Ford River Rouge plant where layoffs are now about 30%.

According to the Feb. 22 Ford Facts a mass meeting of unemployed Rouge workers is being planned for the middle of March by the local's recently-activated Full Employment Committee. The Committee was set up to help protect the jobs of Rouge workers as well as to help provide for the welfare and organization of unemployed members of the union.

The unemployed mass meeting will, among other things, put pressure on the state government to extend unemployment compensation from 26 weeks coverage to 39 weeks. Over 80,000 unemployed in Michigan have already exhausted unemployment benefits. Other actions already taken by Local 600 on behalf of its unemployed members include: the

publication of a comprehensive list of agencies where unemployed can obtain relief, free health service, etc.; notification to laid-off members of their rights as union members; assistance by the Full Employment Committee to individual unemployed members in obtaining welfare aid, surplus food, and in fighting evictions.

So far, Local 600 is one of the few locals which has taken concrete steps to live up to the obligation stipulated in the UAW constitution to keep the union strong in the face of economic crisis by organizing the unemployed. As unemployment grows worse, it becomes imperative for all union bodies to take the following steps: (1) immediate action for the relief of hardship and (2) the organization of the unemployed into powerful mass pressure groups to push an effective program against unemployment.

## NEW YORK'S FINEST

An investigation of the Utica, N.Y., police department by a committee of the state legislature revealed six members of the force had criminal records involving: grand larceny (a captain); operating a house of prostitution (a sergeant); transporting a gambling device; third degree assault (four patrolmen).

## In This Issue

### How Recession Hits Four Cities

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## Marie Haug Asks Aid In Cleveland T-H Case

By MYRA TANNER WEISS

NEW YORK, March 1 — The AFL-CIO should take a good close look at the Cleveland Taft-Hartley "conspiracy" case. The government's attempt to imprison three union leaders along with four others on a charge of "conspiring" to violate the Taft-Hartley "Slave Labor" law, as it has been called by the union movement, may set some very dangerous precedents for organized labor.

By linking the vague and sweeping "conspiracy" laws with violations of the Taft-Hartley law an actual violation doesn't have to be proved. In addition many people can be drawn into a dragnet merely on the basis of "association."

This was the thought uppermost in my mind as I finished a discussion this afternoon with one of the Cleveland defendants, Marie Haug. She was on a short visit here to raise money for the long legal battle against the sentence of 18 months that was given to the defendants.

"Why didn't the government charge you with a false statement, if it thought you lied when you signed a Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit?" I asked as we settled down for our first conversation. "It is always hard to prove someone lied. But to prove someone 'conspired' to lie, is really fantastic."

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## AFL-CIO's Emergency Parley Meets in D.C.

By THE EDITORS

To the AFL-CIO Emergency Conference on Unemployment, meeting in Washington, D.C., March 11-13.

The AFL-CIO representing some 15 million organized workers, is the largest labor movement in the world. Its potential power is tremendous. The depression, into which America is sinking, calls for the actual exercise of that power by the united labor movement to save the people from economic catastrophe.

Unemployment has reached crisis proportions. The government statistics of five million is doctored to bolster "confidence." Unofficial estimates put the number at well over six million. One fact is undisputed: the number of jobless is increasing weekly. In addition millions are working part time. The rest live in daily fear of layoffs. Probably a million unemployed have already exhausted their inadequate unemployment compensation benefits. Millions more are approaching that disaster point. In some areas bread lines have already appeared.

Who will save the working people of this country from the suffering, want and decay of joblessness? Who will prevent the depression from blockbusting the hard-won standard of living? It will not be Big Business whose greed for profits outweighs all consideration of human values. Nor will it be the capitalist politicians, Democratic and Republican alike, who are loyal servants of entrenched wealth. Only the working class itself has the pressing need and the power for the task. Its first-line organization of struggle is the union movement.

## Direction Needed

You, the more than 1,000 delegates to this Emergency Conference, have the responsibility of giving direction to the whole labor movement in the present crisis and of drawing up a program of immediate measures and an overall plan to "put America back to work," which the summons to the conference sets as an objective. It is impossible to tell how deep the depression will go or how long it will last if not energetically combatted. But we believe the labor movement should not seek just a few palliatives on the assumption that the economy is in a fleeting recession.

Rather must it be prepared to deal with the scope of suffering that a major crisis of the capitalist system inflicts upon the working people.

## Young Hardest Hit

CLEVELAND — Young workers, most of them with less than five years seniority, are the hardest hit by the present slump, according to figures released by the County Welfare Department. Before the layoffs hit, most of the people on relief were older people unable to hold regular jobs. At the end of January there were 1,600 new relief applications, as against 726 six months previous. Of these new applicants, two thirds were never on relief before and more than half of them were between 20 and 30 years old.

A basic principle which the conference should proclaim is the responsibility of the unions to organize the unemployed. Already a large section of the membership of every union is composed of laid-off workers. Although out of work, they do not and should not cease to be union members; nor does the union's responsibility to them end with the layoff. The unions should form unemployed committees, to fight their jobless members' grievances on rehiring; unemployment compensation; rent, mortgage and installment payments; relief, etc. In this way the unions will not only be fulfilling obligations to their own jobless members but erecting the framework for the organization of all unemployed workers as a section of the labor movement.

## An Over-All Policy

It is already apparent that the corporations are taking advantage of the slump to launch an anti-labor offensive. Workers on the lines are being speeded up. A get-tough attitude by the employers increasingly marks the approach of contract negotiations. For labor to register gains in the face of the impending employer offensive calls for an overall, coordinated wage struggle by the entire working class. The building of unemployed organizations by the unions will

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## Labor Should Raise These Demands

We submit for the consideration of the delegates to the AFL-CIO Emergency Conference to Put America Back to Work the following as demands to be adopted by labor in its fight against unemployment.

(1) **Unemployment compensation for the entire period of unemployment.** At present, the maximum duration of benefits is from 16 to 30 weeks, depending upon state law. Just in the months of December and January 258,000 exhausted their benefits.

**Raise unemployment benefits to equal full trade-union wages.** The alternative is the catastrophic destruction of the worker's hard-won standard of living.

**Revamp the antiquated state unemployment laws.** Their coverage must be extended to categories of workers now left out and to all who need jobs and can't find them. The anti-labor, anti-strike, pro-employer provisions must be repealed; allowances provided for dependents; unjust penalties and red tape ended.

(2) **A 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay.** 30-for-40 should not only be fought for by unions in all coming contract negotiations but also demanded as an amendment to those federal laws which now provide for the 40-hour week (Fair Labor Standards Act, Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act) and state laws.

(3) **A giant program of public works at trade-union wages.** A multi-billion dollar federal program to build all the schools, low-income housing, hospitals, highways and other useful and peaceful construction needed in this country today. The expenditure of over \$500 billion since 1940 for the sheer destructiveness of war and armaments shows that the money can be appropriated.

(4) **No discrimination because of race or religion in layoffs or rehiring.** An FEP to prevent discrimination in unemployment compensation, public works hiring and relief.

(5) **A debt moratorium for the unemployed.** No foreclosures on homes, autos, appliances. No evictions for overdue rent.

(6) **No taxes on annual incomes of \$7,500 or less.** End the withholding tax and sales taxes. Tax the corporations and the rich, not the poor.



## Guardian Reports Favorable Response To SWP Proposal

The National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party published an advertisement in the Feb. 3 National Guardian entitled, "For a United Socialist Ticket in the 1958 Elections — A Proposal to the Radical Movement." The statement included a suggested program — "with such elaboration or modification as may be finally agreed upon" — for a united socialist campaign. The planks included proposals for combating the cold war, for meeting unemployment, for aiding the struggle against Jim Crow and for independent political action against the major parties. Readers' response was invited.

In its issue of March 3, the Guardian published a full page of letters in reply to the SWP proposal, under the heading, "A full mailbag — on independent political action." The Guardian editors reported that its readers "have responded enthusiastically to the call for independent political action and endorse the SWP's domestic planks . . . Many, however, took exception to a proposed point calling for 'political freedom throughout the Soviet bloc.'"

Additional responses to the proposal appeared in the Feb. 24 Militant. The following are further contributions to the discussion.

### An Error Of Omission'

I would like to comment on the SWP proposal for a united socialist ticket in the 1958 elections and on the letters in the Feb. 24 issue of the National Guardian commenting on the proposal.

While these letters were in the main favorable to the proposal there was controversy and criticism centering mainly around proposition 4 in the proposed platform for a united ticket, or more specifically, around the sentence in point 4 which states "for political freedom throughout the Soviet bloc."

As a long-time supporter of the SWP I want to express my opinion that some of this criticism is justified. The error, I think, is not so much of commission as omission — not so much in content as approach.

The heart of the error lies in

the lumping together of democracy and freedom of two different social contexts. We have to make clear what we are for and what we are against in a capitalist state and in a de-generated workers state. Above all, we must spell out so that there is not a shred of misunderstanding that we defend the social system in the Soviet Union, i.e., the planned economy and the nationalized property, and at the same time remain unalterably opposed to the political bureaucracy which continues to rule.

This should be contained in a separate proposition, otherwise it can lead to confusion and distrust.

Naturally there is a great deal more that can be said on this subject. For example, the question arises — can we unite on a minimum program with people who do not agree on the necessity for the elimination of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union? I would like to hear more widespread comment on this.

Ben Stone  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

### 'Comeback For Socialism'

Although I have made a lot of wrong guesses in the past, so have all the "experts." Therefore, I am, in spite of what I said a year or so ago, again sticking my neck out and predicting a comeback of Socialism based on the platform outlined in the Feb. 3 Guardian. I think our main point and slogan should be "Convert the armaments program into a program of public works."

And how about putting in bold type what I seem to fail to find between the lines: "DISCONTINUE FOREIGN MILITARY BASES."

Do you have an office in Oklahoma? If so, where do I find it? What can I do to help? I am an unemployed school teacher who took the wrong side in the Cold War, now in my fifties but in excellent health.

Mrs. T. S. K.  
Oklahoma City, Okla.

## Calendar of Events

**CHICAGO**  
Film: "Helen Sobell Wins in TV Grilling." Talk: "Next Steps to Free Sobell" by Haven Perkins, executive secretary, Chicago Sobell Committee. Friday, March 14, 8:15 P.M. Ausp.: Militant Labor Forum, 777 W. Adams.

**DETROIT**  
Friday, March 14, 8 P.M. — "Dynamic Detroit" and the "Recession," a talk by Sarah Lovell, Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp.: Friday Night Socialist Forum.

**LOS ANGELES**  
Saturday, March 15, 8:15 P.M. — Labor and the Economic Slump. Speaker: Arne Swaback, Marxist Economist. Forum Hall, 1702 East 4th St. Ausp.: International Socialist Review. Questions and Discussion.

Saturdays, 11 to 2; Sundays 1:30 to 4, a mobilization to circulate petitions with our ap-

# British Protest U.S. Missile Bases

Partners — Junior and Senior



President Eisenhower and British Prime Minister Macmillan at their Bermuda conference last spring. A Feb. 22 announcement that the British government had consented to establishment of a U.S. atomic missile base in England has aroused a storm of popular opposition in that country.

By C. R. HUBBARD  
MARCH 5 — The U. S.-British agreement to build missile bases in England, announced Feb. 22 in London, let loose a storm of opposition to the foreign policy of the British government. Even Conservatives are divided. And the Labor Party is splitting down the middle over the question of how to combat the missile program.

On Feb. 25 the Daily Herald, a British Labor Party paper, vigorously attacked that party's delay and indecision in launching "a great campaign against the nuclear madness." The Herald called on officials and members of the Labor Party to "organize mass meetings, go into the streets and into peoples' homes" to mobilize forces for the "fight for humanity."

### NEW OPPOSITION

The official leadership of the Labor Party evidently faces a new organized opposition. Party Secretary Morgan Phillips was so alarmed that he issued a warning to all constituent groups to "have nothing to do with the Victory for Socialism group, which has rebelled against the party's leadership and policy," according to the March 1 N. Y. Times. Phillips charged that the group intended to form a new national organization with branches within the constituency parties.

The new group, characterized as "Bevanism without Bevan," (Bevan split from the Left Wing of the Labor Party last October) believes that the conversion of the British masses to socialism cannot be accomplished by "leaving policy discussions to official committees or winning elections to the official machine." The new group will issue its own policy statements and hold mass meetings throughout the country in the struggle for nuclear disarmament and "neutrality."

According to Drew Middleton, N. Y. Times correspondent,

"Neither the Herald nor Victory for Socialism members appeared impressed by Mr. Phillips' efforts. The newspaper has not abated its campaign; in fact, it is polling its readers for support."

### GROWING POPULARITY

The popularity of the new opposition to official Labor Party policy is indicated in Middleton's observation that if Bevan had stayed with the Left Wing last October, "he might now be in a more powerful position in the party and country than he was from 1951 to 1957."

The mass opposition to British nuclear policy was revealed early in February when a by-election was held in Rochdale. There a Conservative was defeated by a candidate of the Labor Party. That was bad

British missile agreement. According to the March 1 Newsletter published by Peter Fryer, the Council called on all unions in the area of the proposed missile bases to declare work on these projects as "scab" labor and for all workers to refuse construction jobs on them. Another motion of the Council proposed "demonstrations, leaflets, factory gate meetings, conferences of all trade union branches and Labor Party organizations" to combat the Government policy.

### 'INSTANT RETALIATION'

The anger of the British people over the missile-base agreement was sharpened by the arrogant A-Bomb-rattling of the government as expressed in the "white paper" on "defense" policy issued Feb. 13. Here the British government went even further than official NATO policies. It said in effect that Britain would instantly retaliate with strategic nuclear weapons (rockets) to any Soviet "aggression" begun "even with conventional forces only." The NATO countries, at U. S. initiative, previously announced their decision to use tactical atomic weapons in a conflict even if the enemy used only conventional weapons.

The British announcement is the first statement of policy on the use of strategic nuclear weapons — the IRBM and ICBM — under such conditions.

At an international press conference, Defense Minister Duncan Sandys reassured British reporters that the danger of an accidental firing of a Thor (U. S. missile) is minimal. In addition Sandys had to assure Dutch and German correspondents, according to the Feb. 25 Christian Science Monitor, that "they needn't fear that live Thors would drop on them by mistake."

NO ASSURANCE FOR USER  
Only the Soviet correspondents failed to get reassurance.

One of them asked "whom the missiles were intended to be aimed at." Mr. Sandys "could give no assurance that the Soviets could be free of anxiety."

The belligerence of the British ruling class is especially foolhardy in view of the fact that the "white paper" also conceded that defense of the British Isles in a nuclear conflict is not practicable.

Only the U. S. militarists have anything to gain from British preparations for nuclear war. For they are calculating on the strong possibility that the Soviet Union already has an operational Inter-Continental Ballistic Missile (ICBM), which places the United States in the immediate range of fire.

### PENTAGON'S SHIELD

What the Big-Business crowd in the Pentagon and the State Department is worried about is that without missile bases abroad, the U. S. Government would be seriously restrained in any military operation.

How did the U. S. government succeed in pushing England into this role? The terms of the U. S.-British agreement, at least the fine print, has been kept secret. But on Feb. 15, it was announced that Sec. of State John Foster Dulles had sent a letter to Defense Secretary Neil H. McElroy on the advisability of purchasing jet engines for the U. S. Strategic Air Command from British producers. Manufacturers of Bristol and Rolls-Royce jet engines have been trying for some

### U.S. Army Officers Torture Korean Boy

A 14-year-old Korean boy, Kim Choon Il, was stabbed, beaten, tarred, nailed into a crate and flown 25 miles in a helicopter by U. S. army men, according to a March 1 AP dispatch from Seoul. Involved in the brutal affair are a captain and a major. They claimed the boy was found with stolen items. An army report of the affair said "the investigation disclosed that Kim's hair was cut off by a pair of electric clippers and tar-like substance was daubed on his head," and that the boy was then ordered into a box and about five hours later flown to another airfield and left in a supply room where his cries were finally heard and the crate opened. The U. S. commander in Korea said he regretted this and promised "appropriate action."

time to close such a deal and now it appears the business is in the bag. There is no intimation of how big that deal might be.

In addition, of course, the cost of the IRBM's will be borne by the United States — they cost about a million dollars each — although Douglas Aircraft, producer of the Thor, hopes to reduce the cost in mass production. England will bear the cost of constructing the missile bases — an estimated \$28 million.

England will get Thors which are powered with unstable liquid fuels, "interim weapons" which are unready for quick firing, and are intended only as transition missiles until a solid-propellant successor is perfected, says the Wall Street Journal, Feb. 25. In other words the Thor will soon be obsolete.

# Socialists Challenge Capitalist Tickets

## Chicago Socialist in Congress Bid

CHICAGO, Feb. 26 — Reverend Joseph P. King, president of the Washington Park Forum and pastor of the International Church, today announced his candidacy for United States Congressman in this city's Second Congressional district.

Reverend King's candidacy is supported by a group of socialists of various tendencies who agree on the need for working class and Negro representation in government. A committee is now at work to establish the widest possible base for a united socialist campaign.

Accepting the nomination, Reverend King declared: "No one will solve our problem for us . . . Neither of the two boss-controlled parties have solved the problem of Jim Crow, unemployment, housing, insecurity, high prices and war in over 50 years of their political monopoly."

### WILL SET EXAMPLE

The independent socialist campaign will be launched with a "Call to Action" speech by Rev. King at the Washington Park Forum, long-established Free-Speech center on Chicago's South Side, on Sunday afternoon, March 16. "This

campaign," Rev. King declared, "will be a living demonstration that socialists of different views and backgrounds can effectively join in the activity of a united socialist election campaign against the capitalist political machines."

Rev. King has presented a five-plank program as a basis for a united socialist campaign. It calls for an end to the bipartisan cold war policies of the Republicans and Democrats and proposes instead a socialist policy of friendship to the countries of the Soviet orbit and to the Asian-African and Latin-American national independence movements. It demands a halt to nuclear tests and dismantling of atomic stockpiles.

To combat depression, the program calls for a shorter work week without reduction in pay and for the federal government to provide the unemployed with jobs or adequate compensation for the duration of the period of unemployment. It demands that the armaments program be converted into a program of public works.

Demanding full equality for all races and nationalities, the program calls for support by

the labor movement to the civil rights struggle, effective FEPC legislation and immediate enforcement of school desegregation.

It demands the repeal of all witch-hunt laws and freedom of such political prisoners as Morton Sobell, Gil Green, Henry Winston and Irving Rotash and declares for political freedom throughout the Soviet bloc. The program urges the building of a labor party.

In support of the drive for a united socialist ticket, the Socialist Workers Party has announced a public Dinner-Meeting on the topic of "United Socialist Political Action in 1958 and the Outlook for American Socialists," on Sat., March 22. Full details appear in the announcement on this page.

### WHAT W. GERMAN SOLDIERS READ

The Times of London reports that a German paper "recently sent a man to look at books in soldiers' barracks. He found Marx, Trotsky, Winston Churchill, thrillers, Pearl Buck, Vicki Baum, 'Not by Bread Alone' . . . This suggests that the new German soldier is rather thoughtful."

## ... Cannon, Hallinan Meeting

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confidence in it except Eisenhower, "and they say that he doesn't even read the newspapers."

"Socialism has suffered terrible blows for 17 years," Cannon observed, "blows of the second world war, the witch hunt, an artificially propped-up economy with its conservatizing influence, and last but not least, the disruption of fraternity among socialists." "But," he continued, "there is a nucleus of undaunted and indestructible forces that have survived."

Looking ahead at the prospects for the socialist movement, Cannon stressed the fact that anti-war sentiment is stronger than at any time in the past 25 years, that the boom has turned into a decline and the witch hunt has receded, and these combined factors will advance the socialist cause.

Further, Cannon said, "there is a new atmosphere in the radical movement, an atmosphere of free discussion."

"The significant thing is that socialists with different outlooks stand together on the same platform and urge united socialist political action." Soli-

darity in action does not mean that you cannot have differing political ideas.

The SWP proposal for a united socialist ticket in the 1958 elections, Cannon said, should be pursued with an eye to achieving a united ticket for the 1960 Presidential elections.

### TWO GOOD CANDIDATES

"I can think of two good candidates, Vincent Hallinan and Farrell Dobbs. . . . Both have good prison records. As for Farrell Dobbs, we can make a publicity sensation out of him. He's the only Teamsters union leader that's been sent to jail for being honest."

"However we get socialism in this country," the SWP spokesman concluded, "it's not going to be smuggled in! When we say socialists should unite, we mean real socialists, who, in the words of the Communist Manifesto, 'd disdain to hide their aims.'"

The dinner-meeting also provided an impressive kick-off for the SWP Socialist Expansion Fund. With a quota of \$5,000 from Los Angeles, first reports showed \$3,640 pledged at the meeting, along with numerous cash payments. Pledges and contributions came

from long-time supporters of the SWP and from among the many who were attending an SWP function for the first time.

A wonderful spirit of socialist solidarity and enthusiasm prevailed throughout the entire meeting. During the dinner, which was highly praised for the professional quality of the food and service, there was spirited, spontaneous singing of the traditional labor and radical songs.

The evening was topped off with the rich singing voice of Loretta Taylor and dramatic and satirical presentations by Frank Greenwood. Their appearance was arranged through the Traveling Artists Group.

### Plekhanov's

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## Mich. SWP Completes Filing

DETROIT, March 3 — The Socialist Workers Party today filed another 10,500 petitions with the secretary of state in Lansing for a place on the Michigan ballot in November.

Added to the 21,000 filed a month ago, this makes a total of 31,500, more than twice the 15,315 that are required of independent parties by state law.

The petitions were collected from 15 counties throughout the state over a two-month period. The final filing date is May 3.

The Socialist Workers Party today thanked the socialist and progressive forces that helped the petition work, and pledged to conduct a hard-hitting campaign against capitalist insecurity, war, Jim Crow and witch hunts.

## Roberts Runs For Senate in New Jersey

NEWARK, March 2 — The Socialist Workers Party in New Jersey filed 1,200 nominating petitions this week on behalf of Daniel Roberts, its candidate for the U. S. Senate. Eight hundred petitions are required for a place on the ballot. The editor of the Militant, Roberts was the SWP candidate in New Jersey's 12th Congressional district in 1956. He has been an active socialist since his youth.

In a statement issued today, Roberts declared: "Mounting unemployment, the fight for peace, and the threat to civil liberties will be the basic issues in my campaign." He declared for a halt to nuclear tests, for shift of arms appropriations to public welfare, for support to the civil rights struggle and for public ownership of all basic industries to assure full employment.

Roberts further stated that, "Due to the early deadline for filing nominating petitions, it was not possible for negotiations on a united socialist ticket to be completed. However, I consider my candidacy a challenge to the Big Business parties, and an opportunity for all socialists to unite for an effective socialist campaign."

## SWP in Pennsylvania Maps Drive to Secure Petitions

PHILADELPHIA, March 4 — The Pennsylvania Socialist Workers Party today announced plans for an all-out drive to place an independent socialist ticket on the ballot for the coming state elections. To qualify for a place on the Pennsylvania ballot, independent nominees must secure a minimum of 12,015 petitions. The SWP campaign committee announced that it plans to secure 16,000 in order to assure a place on the ballot. The period allotted for the collection of this large number of signatures is a brief one, running from March 18 to April 8.

The Socialist Workers nominee for Governor is Herbert Lewin, a Philadelphia sheet metal worker. A well-known militant unionist in the Philadelphia area, Lewin has previously run for Governor and Senator on the SWP ticket. For Lieutenant-Governor, the SWP has nominated Eloise Fickland, a veteran fighter in the civil rights and trade union movement. The party's candidate for

U. S. Senator is Ethel Peterson, a Philadelphia bookkeeper. Nominee for State Secretary of Internal Affairs is Louis Shoemaker, a Perkasie farmer.

Due to state election regulations, the party's ballot designation will be the Workers Party. While moving ahead with the plans necessary to secure a place on the ballot for a socialist ticket, the SWP will continue endeavors to bring about agreement among the various socialist tendencies for a united socialist ticket.

In a Feb. 18 letter to the Communist Party, Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation, Socialist Labor Party and Independent Socialist League, the SWP urged an immediate conference "to discuss the creation of a united socialist ticket and the planks of a socialist platform upon which we can have common agreement."

As of this writing, none of the above-mentioned groups have replied to this proposal.

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REV. WILLIAM T. BAIRD  
Minister Essex Community Church, 1952 Progressive Party Illinois District Committeeman

JOHN HAMILTON  
Chairman, Washington Park Forum; past Vice-President, Local 116 Amalgamated Meat Cutters, AFL; a founding organizer of the CIO Packinghouse Workers Union

REV. JOSEPH P. KING  
Pastor, International Church; President, Washington Park Forum; 1958 Candidate for U. S. Congress, 2nd District

HOWARD MAYHEW  
Organizer, Chicago Branch of Socialist Workers Party

Topic:

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## THE MILITANT

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Vol. XXIII — No. 10

Monday, March 10, 1958

### Sr 90 in Your Drinking Water

Radioactive drinking water? A horrifying thought — and a horrifying possibility for the people of America and the world as a result of continuing nuclear tests.

Lakes and river waters in Minnesota from which drinking water is drawn have been found to have dangerous levels of radioactivity. A Governor's committee points out that the water filtering process is no certain guarantee of eliminating the danger. From London it is revealed that official secret tests for radioactivity are being made in that city and elsewhere in Britain.

In the face of these and other equally disturbing facts about the results of nuclear explosions, it might be thought that Washington would finally accept the long-standing Soviet proposal for a halt to the tests subject to mutual monitoring. Yet

the U.S. government offers pretext after pretext to keep the tests going.

Among the most recent alibis for this outrageous stand is the claim of Dr. Edward Teller, so-called "father" of the H-bomb, that monitoring could not effectively determine if a test ban was being respected by the USSR.

Teller's contention is answered in unambiguous language by Hugh C. Wolf, acting chairman of the Federation of American Scientists, in a letter to the March 4 New York Times.

Wolf declares that Teller's opinions on this matter are "political rather than scientific." He reports that the F.A.S., after 12 years of study, is convinced that a monitored cessation of tests "is technically feasible and urgently necessary."

The American people should speak up fast and loud for an immediate halt to the deadly explosions.

### How Far Can They Go?

A federal court in Wisconsin has just ruled in a test case involving Kohler strikers that they must pay income tax on strike benefits from their union. Though there is nothing in the law saying strike benefits are taxable, the judge assumed that this was the intent of Congress since there was an Internal Revenue Service administrative ruling to that effect in 1920, and Congressional silence since may be interpreted as an OK.

But it is not a question of legalisms and Congressional intent. Knowing the pro-Big Business bias of Congress it is quite likely that they hold that secret intent. The question is how far is the labor movement going to let the government go in gouging ever more taxes out of the workers while providing more and more loopholes for the millionaires and the corporations.

For a single worker an average of

one day's pay out of five now goes to the federal government in withholding tax. There is nothing more infuriating for a worker today on part-time, worrying about feeding the family and paying the mortgage or rent, to find that out of his meager pay check the government has already taken a huge bite. Now they say it's the law that the government get a cut of strike benefits. Next it will be a cut of unemployment compensation.

The labor movement years ago fought for the graduated income tax as a means of taking the burden off the poor and putting it on the wealthy who could afford to pay. The two Big Business parties have perverted the income tax so that the burden is now on the workers. The process must be reversed. No taxes whatever on annual incomes of \$7,500 or less. Tax the rich and the monopolies! This should be labor's tax program.

### Setback to Army Witch Hunt

The Supreme Court, March 3, held that the Army cannot legally give a draftee a less-than-honorable discharge on the basis of pre-induction "subversive" activities. This decision, of course, is elementary justice. A youth does not enter service of his own free will. He is compelled by the draft to undergo military training. Under these circumstances it is a flagrant violation of a man's rights to give him a discharge based on anything outside of the period of training.

The Supreme Court curbed the power of the Army to inflict such unjust punishment on American youth. But even more important the Supreme Court, for the first time, ruled that Army discharge decisions are subject to review in the civil courts.

The Justice Department didn't try to defend the less-than-honorable discharges as legal, but argued that the court had no jurisdiction to review them. Justice William J. Brennan, Jr. replied, "You mean you're wrong but the courts can't do anything about it."

The Court decided eight to one that it did have jurisdiction. Draftees therefore have recourse to the courts when their civil liberties are violated by the U.S. Army.

Full justice, of course, is not yet won for the youth who are drafted. The Army has changed its discriminatory procedures, but has not abandoned them. Youth can still be stigmatized by means of a special draft status if suspected of "subversive" thoughts before induction.

## ...AFL-CIO Conference

(Continued from Page 1)

prevent dog-eat-dog competition for jobs between employed workers and their unemployed brothers. It will weld the jobless to labor against the bosses' attempts at union-busting.

We submit that the most important demand that should be raised by labor in all contract negotiations is the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay. The 30-hour week is historically justified today as was the eight-hour day for which the young AFL launched the struggle 70 years ago. But the immediate circumstances of recession make it desperately urgent. It would spread work to 25% more than are now employed. It would greatly increase the earnings to those millions on part time. It would insure future employment to many of those whose old jobs are now vanishing forever because of automation.

Many unions are on record for the shorter work week with no reduction in pay. The last regular convention of the UAW set it as the prime contract goal for 1958. Instead of weakening this vital demand that can combat layoffs, it should be set up as the number one demand of every union in the country.

Many demands both of an immediate and overall scope must be raised and won by labor if it is to counteract the already calamitous effects of mass unemployment on the American workers and their families and if it is to put the jobless back to work at peace-time pursuits. We list those which we believe most important in the box on page one. We earnestly call

the attention of this conference to them and urge their adoption.

The final point that we wish to make to this conference is that every effort by the labor movement — from economic struggle with the corporations to anti-unemployment legislative measures — will run into political obstacles. These roadblocks will be manned by the Big-Business political-office holders.

No major victory can be won by labor as long as the political control points are occupied by the servitors of Big Business and its two parties. Organized labor's tremendous political expenditures and efforts have not resulted in giving labor anything approximating the political power that is its due. Time after time politicians elected as "friends of labor" have proved to be the enemies of labor.

Labor must declare its independence from the two Big-Business parties, from the Democrats as well as the Republicans, and build its own party — a Labor Party. Union locals and city, county and state labor bodies should be encouraged right now to present their own independent candidates for Congress and state offices in the 1958 elections. In most states there is still time for the AFL-CIO to put labor slates on the ballot for this year's elections.

The seriousness of the crisis demands militant policies on the economic and political fronts. These alone can inspire the working-class ranks to wage a winning fight for jobs, economic security and well-being.

# Shall We Spend for War or for Peace?

By HARRY RING

The Bronx, N. Y., Chamber of Commerce held an anniversary dinner Feb. 20. According to an account of the affair in the New York Times, the speaker of the evening assured the assembled business men of his confidence that safeguards in the economic system would cushion the effects of the present recession. The Times further reported the speaker's view that "a greater danger to this country's economic system lay in the Soviet Union's co-existence suggestions."

Ordinarily, the report of such a speech could simply be noted as another reactionary pronouncement of the kind usually heard at such gatherings from one or another Big Business spokesman.

But this particular speech was made by a top spokesman for organized American labor — in fact by George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO.

As far as Meany's professed confidence in the soundness of the economy is concerned, it is dubious that this will be shared by the more than six million workers now jobless or by those now working with the threat of layoffs hanging over their heads.

'STABILIZERS' DON'T WORK Labor has been hearing for a long time about the "built-in" stabilizers which are supposed to have licked the capitalist system's tendency to sink into depression. Despite the "stabilizers," employment has declined swiftly. And so far no one has offered any serious guarantee that the "cushions" will prevent things from getting worse.

Actually, George Meany has no more real confidence than the next man in the supposed "safeguards" keeping us out of depression. His fears on this score are reflected in his claim that Soviet proposals for co-existence are the real threat to the American economy.

Along with other labor

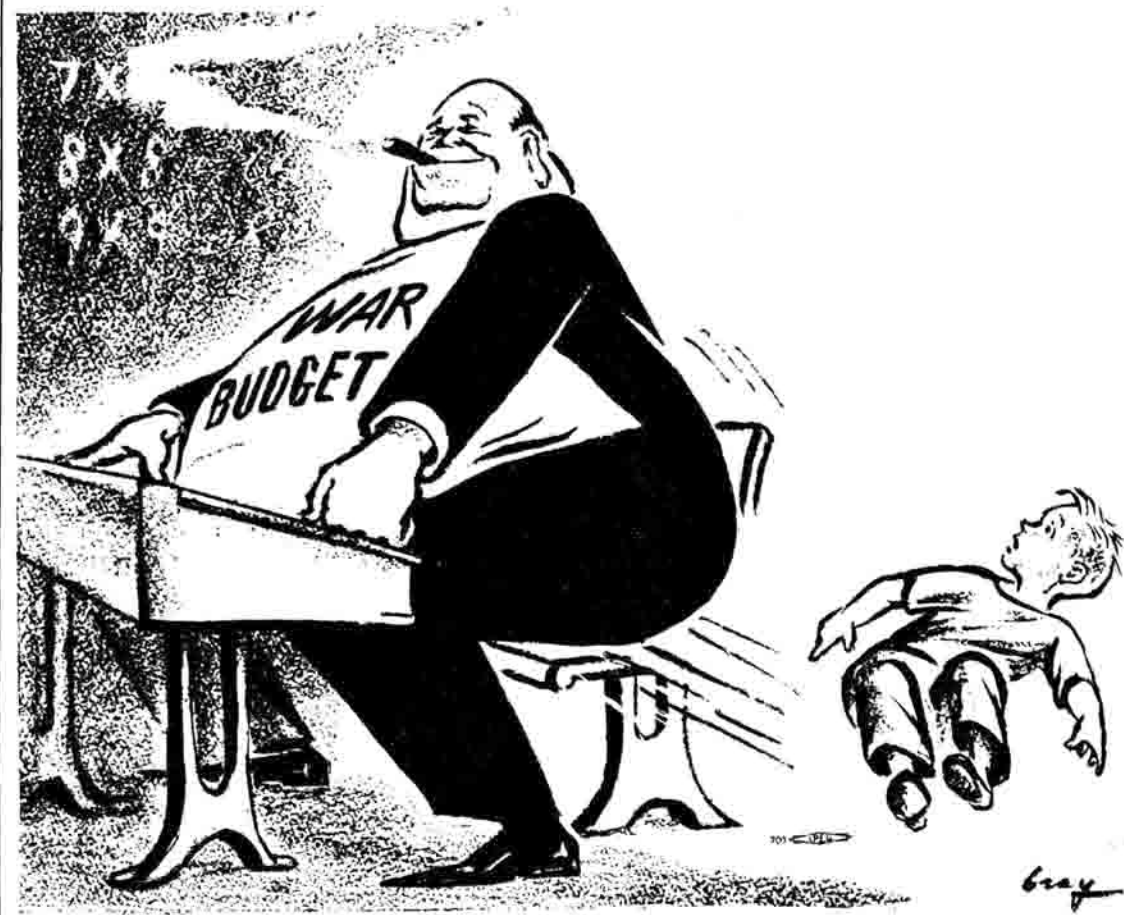
"statesmen," as they like to call themselves, Meany sees an expansion of arms production as the way to keep the economy going. Since the advent of the slump he has called for this repeatedly — just as have various Big-Business-dominated committees — under the guise of meeting the Soviet Sputnik menace.

Meany is panic-stricken that "suggestions for co-existence" — that is for an end to the cold war — may lead to popular pressure in the U. S. for reduction of the arms budget. Working-class solutions would then come more prominently to the fore to meet the depression — so

lutions such as the shorter work week at no cut in take-home pay, or, if the crisis worsens, such as government operation of idled factories under workers' control. This would mean showdown battles of labor against the exploiting class.

Meany has no stomach for that kind of battle. What he wants is a "solution" that Big Business can accept. That is why he plugs for a bigger arms budget and denounces any talk of agreement with the Russians to ease the cold war.

An economy based on arms production assuredly holds many benefits for Big Business. It is in line with their plans



— Reprinted from the Militant of Dec. 19, 1955

Big-Business crowd, which is to make the world safe for their profit-making. All they can look forward to in war is death or agony. Even prior to the actual outbreak of war the arms race is taking its toll in the form of poisonous radioactive fallout produced by nuclear-bomb testing.

At the same time, the "defense program" has helped to fan the witch-hunt and union-busting drives which have done so much to cripple the fighting capacity of the unions. Such devices as "security screening," now widespread in private industry, have become powerful employer weapons for weeding out militant unionists.

#### IMPOVERISHES COUNTRY

The arms race has also served as a major barrier toward making America a better place for its people to live in. In every session of Congress, huge outlays for armaments have gone hand-in-hand with starved allocations for social welfare. More money for guns? Sure, but less money for school and hospital construction, for flood control, for peaceful uses of atomic energy, for public power projects. The infamous Nazi slogan, "Guns — not butter," has become the basic approach of the arms advocates.

Labor cannot afford to ride along with the Big-Business-inspired, huge-arms-spending program. It doesn't stop unemployment, as the present recession at a time of record peace-time military expenditures indicates. It inflates high prices and high taxes on the working people. It heads the country ever closer to the brink of war.

Labor must organize politically to end the madness of the arms race and to turn the country toward the production of the things that the American people need. Such a course will provide effective means of coping with the depression. At the same time it will lead to a rational social order — an economy that is not endangered by peace proposals.

## Recession Reports from Four Cities

### Everybody in Detroit Says, 'Something Has to Be Done'

DETROIT, March 2 — Each week the lines at the unemployment offices are longer. Each week more people who have already used up

Ford workers meeting at the compensation offices make arrangements to pool the rides to collect SUB. "Who's left?" they ask the man laid off last.

"Tony's the only guy left on my job, and he has 23 years' service. I have 13 years. You know how I used to work — all kinds of overtime because I was the only one who knew my machine. But they took off two shifts and now only Tony is left."

"Something has to be done," Everyone says that. Even the city and state officials are beginning to say it too. Talk about the need for public works projects is increasing. Detroit and Lansing officials are making up lists of such projects. But virtually all of them depend on federal financing, few are based on plans for immediate start, and most would not employ more than a few thousand.

"We need higher benefits," "They should last longer than a 26-week maximum." "There should be moratorium on debts we can't pay because we got laid off." These seem to be the most popular demands at the present time.

HAS FIRST CALL At an employment agency: "Have you any jobs today?" Manager — "If I had a job, I'd take it myself and close this agency, business is so rotten."

NEW YORK, March 5 — With over 343,000 people drawing unemployment benefits in the week ending Feb. 1, New York has more jobless than any other state. Pennsylvania had 299,832 that week, while California came third with 277,959. Here the heavily industrialized areas upstate are the hardest hit.

New York City with its high concentration of trade and service industries so far has not felt the full brunt of the recession. But the lines at the State Employment offices are getting longer and longer. Joblessness in the big city is up 51% over the same period last year. In the state as a whole the increase is 96%.

Layoffs in New York City reflect the spreading effects of cutbacks in the primary industries, steel, machine tools, and auto. Great wholesale centers, like this city, are feeling

### To Get \$1 In Food in Pittsburgh

In Pennsylvania 308,599 were on unemployment compensation in the week ending Feb. 14. Representatives of Pittsburgh and 72 other Allegheny County communities decided to apply for free federal surplus food for the jobless after a stormy public hearing in the Pittsburgh courthouse.

Each unemployed and dependent will receive once a month the following: four lbs. of flour and one lb. each of cheese, corn meal, rice and dried milk. Total value is only \$1.00. Yet 160,000 applicants are expected.

The Pittsburgh Press (Feb. 22) reports: "The jam-packed conference room rocked with demands from labor unions, the blind, pensioners and other groups for resumption of the free food lot." Central Labor Union President John Feigel declared, "This isn't 'free food,' because we've already paid for it through our federal taxes."

At an employment agency: "Have you any jobs today?" Manager — "If I had a job, I'd take it myself and close this agency, business is so rotten."

### In Steel and Auto in Buffalo It's Layoffs and Part-Time

BUFFALO, March 2 — Unemployment in this area has passed the 50,000 mark. Steel production dropped to a new low of 37% and over 25,000 steel workers are hard hit by layoffs, short work weeks and furloughs. Some 5,000 auto workers are jobless. In the Chevrolet Engine Plant in Tonawanda, which in 1955 employed 5,200, the figure is now down to 2,600. The UAW intends in coming national negotiations to use this plant as an example of how automation wipes out jobs.

Other auto layoffs: Chevrolet forge and foundry and axle and rear end plants, about 600; Ford Assembly shut down, permanently outing 1,100; Ford stamping employs 1,000 less than a year ago and the plant was closed down the whole of last week; Trico (windshield wipers) announced layoffs of 1,100.

#### AUTO LAYOFFS

Bethlehem Steel is operating only 12 of its 35 open hearth furnaces. Republic Steel is down to two of its nine. Wickwire Steel, shut down for two weeks, will relight but one of its three furnaces. Official unemployment figures don't convey the severity of the situation. Practically everyone in the steel mills is on a four-day schedule and these are often cut at the end of the week to three days and less. In many

cases, those in lower paying jobs would get more from their combined unemployment compensation and SUB. It is difficult to say how far back layoffs have gone since plant-wide seniority doesn't exist. Some rolling mills and furnace departments have gone back ten and 15 years. Maintenance departments have been reduced to skeleton crews; mechanical and electrical workers with as much as 20 years seniority are out in the street and many remaining have dropped to lower job classifications. Company policy has been to keep the men in the dark about work schedules until the last minute. Men work and live on a day-to-day basis.

### ...Expired Benefits

(Continued from Page 1)

pay below the sum they would receive if they were not working at all. Recently Chrysler workers were taking home as little as \$24 a week on such part time. Totally unemployed they could have received as much as \$58. The union has succeeded in forcing the company to abandon this method of shortchanging its employees.

As an answer to the short work week the International Union of Electrical Workers proposes that industry pay its employees 16% of their weekly take-home pay for every day no work is scheduled.

Labor must raise additional demands to protect the unemployed workers' standard of living. Compensation must cover the entire period of joblessness and at full trade-union wages. Every worker must be covered by unemployment insurance. No discrimination must be permitted in firing or hiring. A moratorium should be declared on debts of the unemployed.

#### PUERTO RICAN PUPILS

In the last six years the number of Puerto Rican children enrolled in New York schools increased from 40,000 to more than 100,000.

## Commercial Slump Hits NYC Jobs

Many New York employers pay as little as \$40 a week and even the unionized garment industry's scale starts at \$38. (At the moment of this writing some of these workers have just gone on strike.) With such low pay scales prevailing only the skilled workers can hope to collect the maximum unemployment benefit. The average payment is \$31, with many getting less. And the unemployed have to struggle along on this pittance at a time when the cost of living has reached an all time high!

It is not surprising that the New York City Welfare Department is facing an increased case load. It is asking an increase of \$43,619,000 in its 1958 budget. Mayor Wagner has warned that with continuation of the slump the consequently increased welfare costs could raise city expenses above the \$2 billion level for the first time.

He expressed the opinion that public works, not more arms spending, is the answer to the slump. "If we took the money going into war goods and used it for housing and other needs of the people we would soon put every one back to work."

The maximum compensation benefit in New York State is \$36 a week. But less than half of the insured unemployed get even that inadequate amount.

#### PUBLIC WORKS NOT ARMS



# The Negro Struggle

By J. JONES

Discrimination raises its ugly head higher during periods of unemployment. Today's conditions reveal most clearly the discrimination policies of the employers. Because Negroes were the last hired in many plants, or departments of plants, in a cutback period like now, they are the first to be laid off.

One look at the lines of the Unemployment Compensation offices or at the relief offices is enough to convince the observer that the Negroes are bearing the brunt of the recession out of all proportion to their numbers in the population. Why? Because they were discriminated against in the hiring and consequently are at the bottom of the seniority lists.

Because of that first victimization they are now being victimized again in the recession.

During depressions, competition among workers for jobs becomes more intense and the old prejudices are revived as weapons in the struggle for bread. Discrimination again comes to the fore in the minds of many people. Partly out of blind frustration, partly in the hope that

it will give them an advantage in the dog-eat-dog struggle for life. This struggle among the workers weakens their unity against the employers, who take advantage of it and increase it by further practices of discrimination.

Discrimination has been, and continues to be, a practice of business organizations because it yields a dollar-and-cents result.

When the workers organized unions in the mass production industries of America, one of the main demands was for seniority. This was to do away with boss favoritism — a form of discrimination on personal, not necessarily racial or religious, grounds. The companies and corporations resisted seniority systems and still try to squirm around them, because they break up one of the bosses' pet methods of dividing the workers.

To fight discrimination against Negro workers, against women or against any other group is the job of the labor movement. It can be done by insisting upon and fighting for the equal right and equal opportunity of everybody to a job at union wages.

## Bust Up GM?

By A. RITCHIE

What is behind the recent proposal made by George Romney, president of American Motors, to break up GM and Ford? Mr. Romney, perhaps to show he is not prejudiced towards the big corporations, also proposes to break up the international unions by prohibiting the combination of local unions representing more than 10,000 employees to bargain with more than one company. This, of course, would include the UAW. Let us examine these two proposals further.

The first part of this proposal, coming in the midst of heavy unemployment, has a certain amount of attraction for the workers. It creates an illusion that the answer to unemployment and the return to so-called prosperity, can be achieved by creating more "competition" through the "breaking up" of large monopolies.

Attacks on bigness in industry are nothing new. They are generally made by middle-class critics of capitalism to give the impression that "bigness" in and of itself is to blame for the periodic economic crisis. But this is not so. The workers are led to believe that what is wrong with giants like GM, Ford, U.S. Steel, etc., is that they are too big to function efficiently. But it is not their size or highly concentrated character that is at fault. From the point of view of industrial technique and mobility, GM, like Ford and other mammoth industrial units, is very

well organized. Mr. Romney does not say what is really at fault—the private ownership of these industries. The private ownership of the means of production means a system of production for profit and not for use. Once the full implications of this are appreciated it is easy to see why, for example, food is destroyed, while millions of people are out of work.

Mr. Romney says "Break up GM"—but GM as one of the best integrated industrial machines, should not be broken up. What is necessary is to replace the monopolistic control over it with collective ownership—not only of GM, but of all industry. This means that the working class would take over the operation of the entire productive apparatus in the interests of the majority of the people. Then the entire system of production we live under would be turned into its opposite—production for use and not for profit.

In reality, Mr. Romney makes his demagogic proposal because of the economic pressure placed on his smaller corporation by the cut-throat tactics of the giant companies. But when he also proposes to break up the UAW, we can see how he is primarily concerned with protecting the interests of his class. In fact, along with the other capitalists, Romney will fight much harder to break up the unions, than to break up the monopolies.

## Letters from Our Readers

### Taking New Look

Editor:

About a month ago, in my shop, we had the first layoff in several years. Before that time, in all my passing discussions with my friends about politics, the typical remark that I heard about my ideas was that I always looked on the dark side of things. Life is a bowl of cherries they told me. Socialism is OK, but we don't need it.

Now that several people were laid off, the threat of future layoffs hangs heavy over many of the remaining people. One of the fellows who thought life was so great, moved into a new apartment with his pregnant wife, paid a down payment on new furniture, and in general was trying to make his life better. Now the dark side of life menaces him. He's so worried that he will be laid off that he dragged me aside to ask me what started it all. What causes layoffs? What is socialism? What can be done? What he is doing is the beginning of the answer. If more and more working people are made unhappy and their smallest dreams thwarted by our capitalist system of boom, bust and war, they will also begin to ask questions, and eventually recognize that they have to solve the problem themselves. When the working people and not the capitalists rule this country then we will have the

answer. The employer who lays you off is not going to be the one who is going to solve the problem.

The effects of the layoff on this one worker is not unusual. In Flint, on the street, I met a fellow-worker who is a socialist. I asked him if he wasn't lonely being one of the few with his ideas. He told me that it wasn't true, that many workers who work with him are beginning to come to more and more radical conclusions about this system. He's feeling at home, he said.

B.F.  
Detroit

### Canadian Situation

Editor:

The coming federal election finds a lot of people hungry and hot under the collar here. The farmers are fighting mad. In British Columbia, the Vancouver Island farmers (milk producers) marched 400 strong on the parliament while in session. They milked a cow on the parliament steps and dumped it, they said, for the Premier to clean up. They got to the legislative doors and drowned the discussion going on inside with their rattling of doors. They shouted, "We want Bennett" (Premier). They only dispersed when promised a session with officials next morning. (Made me think of Cannon's Road to Socialism.) I hope to see a good May Day this year.

B.P.J.  
British Columbia

### From Mississippi

Editor:

I am forwarding a letter to you from a friend in Mississippi.

R.C.  
Chicago

Dear Friend:

I really hope you are on the right track in finding an easier way to reach some worthwhile prospects. I told you once before that there must be some omissions in indoctrinating voices in any field, and most Americans hold a certain de-

gree of respect for any project that comes through a church as it always fear that the political leaders will fight it. Fear is the greatest deterrent in any new field. So whoever has the patience to teach must work gently so as not to drive the crowd away before they want to come back for more.

My most effective work in Memphis was with the interracial group operating at Bethlehem Center with a Unitarian minister from Boston, a college teacher and some political science pupils. We discussed socialism some each Sunday, and I learned that even with the upper crust there is internal resentment against the Congressional committee's branding every group that endorsed fair play as subversive.

H. J.  
Mississippi

### Queries Arithmetic

Editor:

I was glad to hear of the excellent results in the Seattle election campaign. I'm sure it will not be long before a socialist will not just miss qualifying but will give the capitalists a real run for their money.

I must raise one question in the reporting of the results. In two issues you report that Jack Wright, the socialist candidate, received 10% of the votes cast. This seems to me to be impossible as the eleven who ran ahead of him would have had to each receive more than 10%.

B. S.  
Los Angeles

Each candidate's vote was figured as a percentage of the total number of voters who cast a ballot for city council. Thus Jack Wright was the choice of 10% of the voters. However, each voter was supposed to vote for five councilmen. Thus the total of the individual percentages would exceed 100% and indeed, assuming that every voter did choose five, would be 500%. Theoretically, five candidates could have polled 100% each, and by the same token a dozen candidates could have polled 10% or over. — Ed.)

### New York John T. Gojack

Fighter for Civil Liberties, First Amendment test case, former president, UE District 9.

Will Speak On: "THE STRUGGLE FOR THE FIRST AMENDMENT" Sunday, March 16 — 8 P.M. 116 University Place Contribution 50 cents Unemployed Free Ausp.: Militant Labor Forum

# THE MILITANT

VOLUME XXIII

MONDAY, MARCH 10, 1958

NUMBER 10

## Sobell Leaves Alcatraz

### N.Y. Rally Aids Gojack Test Case

NEW YORK, March 1—Over 200 people gathered in the Carnegie Recital Hall last night to discuss the fight for the First Amendment of the Constitution, free speech, free press and freedom of assembly. The case of John T. Gojack, which is now on appeal in the higher courts, was explained. Gojack, former president of U.E. District 9, defied the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1955, when that witch-hunting body questioned him extensively about his union and political history.

Gojack denied the Committee's authority to question him in these areas pointing out that it could serve no legislative purpose and constituted an invasion of his rights under the Constitution. He was convicted for "contempt of Congress" and sentenced to nine months in prison.

The meeting was chaired by Ring Lardner, Jr., who recalled the fight against the Un-American Committee ten years ago by the "Hollywood Ten." Attorney Frank Donner explained the union-busting objectives of the Committee in the Gojack case. He cited a statement by Rep. Francis Walter that his aim was to put the United Electrical union "out of business."

Frank Wilkinson, in charge of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee's campaign to abolish the Un-American Activities Committee, told of the progress of the struggle throughout the country, and Dr. Otto Nathan, economist, related the struggle for civil liberties in America to the struggle for socialism. John Gojack took the rostrum and gave the audience an account of his experience. He said he first learned that the Committee was coming to town from a company foreman. Journalist I. F. Stone took a collection to provide court costs in the First Amendment fight.

### Fight Taft-Hartley Frame Up



MARIE AND FRED HAUG, above, are two of seven Cleveland witch-hunt victims. They were convicted on a charge of "conspiring" to sign false Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavits. The case is now being appealed to higher courts.

## ...Haug Defense Case

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is for the prosecution to present two witnesses or one combined with independent material proof. Actually the government had only one witness to testify against Mrs. Haug. A "conspiracy" charge is much looser. That's one reason conspiracy laws have been so strongly opposed by civil liberties organizations.

Mrs. Haug signed her first non-Communist affidavit, required by the Taft-Hartley Act of all union officials, in 1949. Five of eight prosecution witnesses testified about alleged political activities and associations of Marie Haug and her husband, Fred, in the year 1948 and earlier. Only one witness, Fred Gardner, testified about events in 1949, the year her first affidavit was signed. And his testimony was full of inconsistencies.

For example, Mrs. Haug explained, Gardner placed her at her home when she couldn't possibly have been there. He was unable to describe the Haug's apartment, although he testified as to conversations supposedly held there. He put Mrs. Haug's office across the street when it was actually in the same building where he had an office. Marie Haug was on the stand for three days and refuted his stories.

She explained that she and her husband were once members of the Communist Party but had left it long before the Taft-Hartley affidavits were signed. About all the prosecution could do to get a conviction was to whip up hysteria. And evidently it was still possible to do that despite a greater concern for civil liberties today than existed a few years ago.

"It is interesting to note," Mrs. Haug continued, "the argument used by the prosecution toward the end of the trial. District Attorney Canavan maintained that if my husband and I were innocent, we would have 'gone over to the side of law and order' and become FBI informants like Gardner." But there is more involved than the terrible prospect of separation of the Haugs from their daughter — she's only 7½ years old. Mrs. Haug pointed out, "There are important constitutional issues involved in this case. The entire concept of conspiracy, based as it is on gossip and hearsay, will be under review. Conspiracy laws have always been anti-union weapons. There's the matter of how many witnesses are necessary in a case involving 'false statement.' And the application of the Supreme Court's decision in the Jencks case — concerning procedures to be used with FBI reports — is at issue."

And last but not least, I thought, is the question of what the labor movement will do about this frame-up of people who have devoted their entire adult lives to union struggles. The Taft-Hartley Act was opposed by both the AFL and CIO. It was viewed as a labor-busting device from the very beginning. The Cleveland defendants are doing their part to defeat the union-busters — even at the risk of their freedom. Will the rest of labor do its part? That's the question. And it will be answered out of court.

### GAIN 11 CENTS

Pay boosts benefiting 870,000, won by unions in N. Y. during 1957, averaged 11.1 cents per hour.

## Fight for Justice Wins First Important Victory

MARCH 4 — Morton Sobell, for more than five years imprisoned in the worst penal institution in the United States, is no longer confined in Alcatraz. After years of protest to the prison authorities who held him without reason in this "special security" torture jail on an island in the San Francisco Bay, Morton Sobell at last has been transferred to a federal prison in the East.

Helen Sobell, the prisoner's wife, said today, "It is with heartfelt thanksgiving that I learn that our work and prayers have been answered and that my husband, Morton Sobell, is no longer in Alcatraz prison. According to a letter that I have received from him, he is being transferred to the federal penitentiary at Atlanta. To those who are not familiar with the inhumanity of Alcatraz, it may seem a small victory. But to know that now, after more than five years our family may touch our loved one's hand and speak to him face to face is a great joy. To no longer be forced to make a 6,000 mile trip each time we visit is a blessing. I hope that the time will come when these minimum privileges will be accorded to all those unfortunate in Alcatraz, but meanwhile we are grateful that our own situation has improved."

Helen Sobell also expressed the gratitude of Morton's mother, Rose Sobell, who is now in a New York hospital undergoing surgery on her eyes.

"Morton's mother and I have the responsibility of knowing that he is an innocent man, wrongly convicted in a trial that took place during a time of national hysteria. Throughout our country and the world many voices have been raised for my husband's freedom. Many have felt that his being sent to Alcatraz was an extreme example of the pressures and vindictiveness of the period in which he was tried. His transfer from Alcatraz is an indication that we are moving into a more rational time. It is our hope and belief that this action is the prelude to his freedom, for he does not belong in any prison."

To those many thousands who are active in the struggle for justice for Morton Sobell, Helen expressed her appreciation.

"We thank with all our hearts those who have helped us in the past, and those who will



MORTON SOBELL



HELEN SOBELL

continue to help obtain my husband's release and prove his innocence. We hope and pray that he will be able to come home to us soon. It is already eight years that he has been in prison, more than five of them in Alcatraz, and now he must still endure the rigors of Atlanta. Neither justice nor humanity can be served by his continued imprisonment. We will continue our efforts for Morton's freedom with greater energy and lighter hearts because one part of the burden of injustice has been lifted from our shoulders."

## We're Mobilized for Freedom!!

WANTED: You and all your friends.

FOR: Reaching signers with our appeal to the President on behalf of Morton Sobell.

JUSTICE: Depends on you — join us

NOW: Every Saturday — 11 A.M. to 2 P.M. Sunday — 1:30 to 4 P.M.

At the L. A. Sobell Committee Office, 462 No. Western Ave., Suite 3 Hollywood 4-4725

## 105,000 Dressmakers in Spirited Strike

By WILLIAM BUNDY

The first New York general strike of dressmakers in 25 years got off to an inspiring start March 5. More than 100,000 members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in seven Northeastern states brought 70% of the nation's dress production to a complete halt in a strike for a new contract. Sixty-four thousand of the strikers are in

New York City. ILGWU dressmakers in Manhattan's garment center left the shops at the 10 A.M. strike deadline and marched through the streets to a mass meeting of about 25,000 workers in and around Madison Square Garden.

The march to Madison Square Garden began as union soundcars which were cruising the garment district blared out the announcement: "The general

strike is on." Throughout the seven-state area covered by the negotiations, the walkout was the largest, the most complete, and the most orderly in the union's history.

The effectiveness of the walkout, which was supported wholeheartedly by the newer workers whose previous experience with the union has consisted mainly in paying dues, impressed everyone, and surprised some observers. The strike does not directly involve workers in the cloak and miscellaneous trades, but even in the shops which are working, the dressmakers' strike is a constant topic of cheerful conversation.

### HOLIDAY MOOD

In Manhattan's garment center, mass picketing got under way today, with the workers in a holiday mood, feeling their strength, meeting old friends and making new ones, and talking over the prospects for a decent settlement.

The union is demanding a 22% "package" increase, including a 15% wage raise, higher minimums, severance pay and overtime pay after 35 hours for all workers. At present, although the 35-hour week is supposed to be standard, 80% of the dressmakers who are paid on a piece-rate basis do not receive the overtime rate until after 40 hours. In addition,

the union is demanding tighter rules for the enforcement of the contract.

New York City dressmakers now average about \$73 before taxes for the 35-hour week, or \$2.10 an hour. This is below the over-all average for production workers in the area.

The dressmakers have not had a raise since the last contract was signed five years ago. Many of the piece rate workers are actually earning less (in dollars before taxes as well as in real wages) than they were ten years ago.

This situation is the result of chiseling by the employers on the piece rates. The experience since World War II has been that the workers would enjoy the negotiated increase only until a new style or process was introduced. Then the employers would simply set a more difficult rate on the new job, and the workers would find their weekly checks no higher, and sometimes lower, than before the "raise." This is one major reason for the strike. The discontent of the workers over low wages and the lack of enforcement of the contract has been growing steadily.

### OUTLYING AREAS

In addition, wage rates for union dressmakers in outlying areas in seven states which produce for the "New York Market"

average \$.50 to \$1.00 less than in New York City. Industry spokesmen admit that the New York bosses make up for this difference by simply violating their contracts where they can get away with it.

This is what ILGWU president David Dubinsky meant when he told the Madison Square Garden rally that the strike was caused by a "lot of chisellers" among the bosses. It has reached a point where a powerful section of the employers are demanding that the union enforce more uniform contract provisions throughout the seven-state area, or remove the restrictions on the New York manufacturers. The union, on the other hand, has demanded tighter enforcement restrictions on the "chisellers." That is one reason why the 25-year "truce" between the ILGWU leadership and the employers has finally broken down.

It remains to be seen whether uniform contract enforcement will result from this strike. But as one old-time militant said as he marched on the picket line: "This strike is already a victory. I don't expect anything from the negotiations, except maybe a raise that will last a few weeks until they start chiseling again. But look how strong we are. Life will be a little bit easier in the shops after this."